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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 H-01 TEDE-00 INR-00
L-01 ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-00
PRS-01 P-01 SNP-00 SP-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 T-00
USIE-00 PMB-00 PRME-01 DRL-09 G-00 /017W
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R 240909Z JUL 94
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1130

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KAMPALA 005873

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE, DAS PRU BUSHNELL

AF/C - AMB. RENDER, AMB RAWSON, REED FENDRICH

AF/E - AMB. SHINN AND CHRIS WILSON

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, UG
SUBJECT: RWANDI: WHAT TO DO NEXT -- SOME BRIEFS
THOUGHTS FROM KAMPALA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AS A CLOSE OBSERVER OF DEVELOPMENTS IN RWANDA
OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, I WOULD LIKE TO OFFER
SEVERAL SUGGESTIONS ON THE DIRECTION OUR POLICY
SHOULD TAKE AS THE CRISIS IN RWANDA MOVES TO THE NEXT
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STAGE. ALL OF THESE SUGGESTIONS ARE WRITTEN FROM A
KAMPALA OPTIC, WHICH IS ADMITTEDLY LIMITED, GIVEN ALL
THE DIFFERENT PLAYERS. HOWEVER, IN FOCUSING TOO
EXCLUSIVELY ON THE CATASTROPHIC REFUGEE PROBLEM IN
EASTERN ZAIRE, WE MAY NOT MOVE RAPIDLY ENOUGH ON SOME
OF THE OTHER POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN ISSUES THAT
SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO BRING ABOUT A LONGER LASTING
SOLUTION. ALTHOUGH I TEND TO BE A REALIST, I KNOW
SOME OF THESE SUGGESTIONS MAY BE IMPRACTICAL AND
OTHERS MAY BE POLITICAL UNTENABLE AT THIS JUNCTURE.

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HOWEVER, I HOPE ALL OF THEM WILL BE CONSIDERED IN OUR ON-GOING SEARCH FOR PEACE IN RWANDA.

3. I RECOMMEND THAT:

-- THE U.S. SHOULD MOVE SWIFTLY TO RECOGNIZE THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT. THE NEW HUTU-LED, RPF DOMINATED GOVERNMENT IS NOT PERFECT, AND CERTAINLY NOT AS BROADLY BASED AS WE WOULD LIKE, BUT IT IS NOT LIKELY TO FALL. EARLY RECOGNITION WILL HELP US ADVANCE OUR POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN OBJECTIVES.

-- EARLY RECOGNITION WOULD PERMIT US TO RE-OPEN OUR EMBASSY AND TO ENCOURAGE ON A DAILY AND DIRECT BASIS THE RECONCILIATION PROCESS AND BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT WE SEEK. WE HAVE MAINTAINED EXCELLENT CONTACTS WITH SOME OF THE RPF LEADERSHIP. THIS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO DRIFT OR BE TARNISHED AT THIS EARLY STAGE BY SLOW RECOGNITION. THE NEW RWANDA LEADERSHIP SHOULD KNOW OUR VIEWS QUICKLY AND IMMEDIATELY.

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-- RELIEF EFFORTS SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD THE INSIDE OF RWANDA TO HELP STABILIZE THE CURRENT SITUATION AND TO ACT AS A MAGNET TO PULL REFUGEES BACK INSIDE THE COUNTRY.

-- ALTHOUGH THERE IS AN IMMEDIATE SHORT TERM NEED (TWO-THREE WEEKS) FOR RELIEF TO THE CAMPS TO START THE CURRENT HUMANITARIAN PROGRAMS, EARLY PLANNING SHOULD INCLUDE CLEAR ACTIONS TO SHIFT RELIEF INSIDE RWANDA PROPER. INCENTIVE PACKAGES (FOOD, SEEDS, FARM IMPLEMENTS, TRANSPORT BACK TO VILLAGES) SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED TO ENCOURAGE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME. IF REFUGEES REALIZE FEEDING AND HEALTH PROGRAMS WILL GO ON INDEFINITELY IN OTHER COUNTRIES, REFUGEE CAMPS WILL BECOME PERMANENT FIXTURES ON THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE AND BREEDING GROUNDS FOR NEW CROSS BORDER INSURGENT TYPE ACTIVITIES, ESPECIALLY FROM ZAIRE BY HUTU EXTREMISTS.

-- WE MUST CONTINUE TO LEAN ON MUSEVENI TO DO THE RIGHT THING. MUSEVENI RETAINS SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE WITH KAGAME AND THE RPF ELEMENTS IN THE GOVERNMENT. A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON OR SECRETARY

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CHRISTOPHER EXHORTING MUSEVENI TO USE HIS INFLUENCE AND POWERS OF PERSUASION TO KEEP THE SITUATION MOVING IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION MIGHT NOT BE A BAD IDEA.

-- DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE SHOULD BE APPLIED TO THE NEIGHBORING STATES (UGANDA, TANGANYIKA, ZAIRE, BURUNDI, KENYA) TO ENCOURAGE INTERNAL RECOGNITION AND TO ESCHUE GRANTING POLITICAL ASYLUM AND SAFEHAVENS TO
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INDIVIDUALS CLEARLY IDENTIFIED AS PERPETRATORS OF THE MASSACRES. GOVERNMENTS IN THE NEIGHBORING STATES SHOULD MOVE SWIFTLY TO DISARM AND ARREST INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN HARBORING RWANDAN DISSIDENTS. A NEW REGIONAL DECLARATION ASSERTING THE OLD PRINCIPLE OF NON-INVOLVEMENT IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF RWANDA SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED.

-- IN OUR RUSH TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT, WE SHOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE NEED TO PROPERLY SUPPORT AND EQUIP UNAMIR II. GENERAL DELLAIRE, THE ONLY HERO IN RWANDA, NEEDS OUR FULL SUPPORT TO HELP MAINTAIN THE PEACE, TO POLICE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, TO

BUILD CONFIDENCE AMONG RETURNING REFUGEES, TO BACKSTOP THE INTERNAL HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORT AND TO HELP ENSURE THE PERPETRATORS OF THE MASSACRES ARE HANDLED PROPERLY.

-- WE SHOULD STRIDENTLY PRESS THE FRENCH NOT TO UNDERMINE THE NEW RPF GOVERNMENT AND TO ACTIVELY

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R 240909Z JUL 94
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1131

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 KAMPALA 005873

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DISCOURAGE PRESIDENT MOBUTU FROM DOING SO. THE
PRESENCE OF THE HUTU MILITIA IN ZAIRE WILL BE A
TEMPTATION FOR WICKED MINDS. CARSON

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